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AN

EXAMINATION

OF THE

PRINCIPLES

AND

BOASTED DISINTERESTEDNESS

OF A LATE

RIGHT HONOURABLE GENTLEMAN.

In a LETTER from an OLD MAN of Buſineſs, to a NOBLE LORD.

He fell from his Duty, and all his former Friends; and this he did ſo meanly, that he ſeemed to all men to have loſt his Wits when he left his Honeſty.

CLARENDON.

LONDON:

Printed for J. ALMON, oppoſite Burlington-Houſe, in Piccadilly. 1766.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IT may not be amiſs to premiſe to the Reader, that the Noble Lord to whom this Letter was addreſſed, without waiting for an opinion, which he had very earneſtly deſired, kiſſed hands for a Lucrative Office, a very few hours before the following reaſons were ſent him. The Writer, tho' he thinks diffidently of his ſtyle, is too well perſuaded of the cogency of his argument, not to ſubmit it to the Public.

This Day is Publiſhed,

(A New EDITION being the FOURTH, *Corrected)* of

AN ENQUIRY into the CONDUCT of a LATE RIGHT HONOURABLE COMMONER. Price 1s. 6d.

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A New Satirical PRINT, entitled,

THE PRECIPICE, &c.

And ſpeedily will be Publiſhed,

PYNSENT's GHOST.

Thou, Jaffier! thou my once lov'd, valued Friend!
By Heav'n thou ly'ſt——the Man ſo call'd, my Friend,
Was generous, honeſt, faithful, juſt, and valiant——
But thou, a wretched, baſe, falſe, worthleſs Coward,
Poor ev'n in Soul, and loathſome in thy Aſpect:
All Eyes muſt ſhun thee, and all Hearts deteſt thee!

OTWAY.

AN

EXAMINATION, &c,

My LORD,

I AM very ſenſible of the honour which your Lordſhip has done me, in deſiring my opinion, what it is fit for you to do in the preſent public criſis; and tho' I might well have excuſed myſelf, from many perſonal conſiderations, particularly thoſe of an infirm ſtate of health, (which however has not yet procured me either Penſion or Peerage) and a conſequent diſinclination to any thing that has the appearance of buſineſs; yet you are ſo well entitled upon all occaſions to my beſt judgment, that I determined without delay to communicate to you my thoughts, however imperfect they may be, upon a ſubject of ſuch importance to your character and credit. Your Lordſhip's letter informs me, that you have been earneſtly preſſed to accept of a lucrative office, and ſo far I muſt ſay the propoſition comes fairly before you. Indeed, I ought to congratulate you upon

this ſingular mark of attention, at a time when defiances and neglects have been ſo liberally ſcattered among the firſt nobility of this kingdom. You have neither been told as a noble Duke politely was, *that you might have an office if you would* * ; or in the peremptory ſtile uſed to a Right Honorable Commoner, *that you muſt either take this office or none* † ; the arrangements were not all made before you was ſent to, and then a careleſs intimation given, *that ſuch an office was ſtill vacant* ‡ : but I underſtand that ſo juſt an idea was entertained of your abilities and conſideration, that the application was made to you with an earneſtneſs, which, whether ſincere or not, preſerves appearances at leaſt, and leaves you at liberty to adopt the offer, if in other reſpects it ſhall be found conſiſtent with your principles and reputation. I addreſs myſelf the more confidently to you upon this ſubject, becauſe I perſuade myſelf you are ſatisfied of my zeal for your well-doing ; and ſhould we happen to differ in our concluſions, it would be one of thoſe friendly differences in which our tempers will never be brought to interpoſe.

Your Lordſhip tells me, you are preſſed to accept of a lucrative office, the rank of which is ſuitable to your credit, and the profit convenient to your fortunes. I muſt hope, that the emolument is not *neceſſary* to

* D. of P——d. † C. T—— d. ‡ Mr. D—w—ll.

to your circumſtances; for in that caſe it were an idle waſte of words, to trouble you with an opinion you are not at liberty to follow: and were my judgment for your acceptance, you would be ſtill leſs in want of the reaſons upon which that judgment is founded. The domeſtic arguments for it would be ſufficient. I flatter myſelf you are not one of thoſe *quorum virtutibus obſtat Res anguſta domi*. But in truth, my Lord, be that as it may, as far as I am able to form any opinion of this matter, you cannot, muſt not accept of the employment now tendered to you; you cannot do it if you conſider your own credit and dignity, muſt not, if you reflect upon what you owe to the public.

Conſider a little the ſtate of parties; the ſituation of this country; the temper of the late negotiation; the little likelihood of permanency, unleſs, paradoxical as it may ſeem, the frequency of the late Changes may have lulled individuals into ſecurity;—— and you will not be without reaſons to give a ſanction to your refuſal.

The ſeſſion of Parliament had been concluded for ſome weeks with what, I ſuppoſe on the account of the poverty of our language, had been termed ſucceſs. I would ſooner however forgive an American Aſſembly for making uſe of that expreſſion, than I would indulge a Britiſh P——t in the adoption of it. The only poſſible light in

which it can be conſiſtently called ſucceſs, is, arithmetically ſpeaking, when the numbers which had ſo lately been convinced of the expediency of taxing America, now declared it inexpedient to make uſe of that power, and have in the opinion of moſt men precluded themſelves for ever from exerting it at all. So pacifick was the outward ſcene of things, that the late Premier of the Treaſury, in the fulneſs of his ſecurity, and, as the event juſtified, in the height of vanity and preſumption, declared, "He had thrown PITT "and GRENVILLE upon their backs, and he "would give them Lord BUTE into the "bargain." In a few days after this, Lord ROCKINGHAM was given to underſtand that Mr. PITT was ſent to, by whoſe advice did not appear. The fact was barely ſtated and ſpoke more fully of itſelf than the moſt laboured comment could have taught it to explain. However differently received it might be when it became notorious, it plainly ſhewed the inſincerity of thoſe proteſtations which the late Miniſters had been continually throwing out to the Public: thoſe gentlemen, who had all the winter bowed themſelves at the feet of Mr. PITT, declaring, that they had no opinion of their own, that they deſired to refer every thing to him, to reſign their offices, their ſentiments, whenever he thought proper to accept of them; and that they wiſhed nothing ſo much

much as to lift under him; now, upon the first mention of his name, betrayed all that fear and confusion which might naturally be expected from weak, uncertain, unsteady minds; and instead of attempting to parry the attack, or to receive it with fortitude, fell to mutual recrimination; and to the laying hold on every shadow of a cause that could present itself to their fancies. Hence that language which was very current in the head quarters of administration. "This is "a trap laid by Lord B—— for Mr. P—; "he is ruined if he gives into the proposal; "——Why was not the proposition made "to us; you know we always told you that "you ought to take him in betimes, or he "would be forced in upon us. It was much "better in the last K——'s time, when "those who were out of favour, or on the "verge of the R——l displeasure, were "constantly rumped; we were smiled into "destruction, &c." The only reason they did *not* give for the step which had been taken without their privity and consent, was, that which was the most public, viz. the little care they had taken to fulfil the expectations of the people, or the intentions of their master; the inability they had shewn in the conduct of Government Business, and the disunion and dissatisfaction which they were continually expressing among themselves.

Finding,

Finding, however, after ſome time, that theſe complaints were mere lip labour, they betook themſelves to the very diſintereſted taſk of compleating their jobs; loading foreign eſtabliſhments with uſeleſs offices; crouding their Favourites into contracts, and all that variety of official diſtribution, which their inventions, edged by neceſſity, could ſuggeſt to them. Something now happened in political life, which clergymen tell us is often the caſe in religious matters. They were acting in their miniſterial capacity as if they were to be miniſters for ever; and when the day of account came, like guilty criminals, betook themſelves to mutual accuſation, inſtead of humiliation and repentance. What other ſecret motive, added to the public oſtenſible reaſon already mentioned, contributed to the reſolution taken, of ſending for Mr. PITT, I do not mean to enquire: it may be worth your Lordſhip's while, however, to examine in what degree this is to be imputed to the operations of that ſecret influence to which many are inclined to aſcribe it, as it will determine the meaſure of confidence which it may be prudent to place in an adminiſtration ſo conſtituted. Without meaning to implead or arraign any man, you have a right to judge for yourſelf how far there is a reaſonable proſpect of ſtability, and what degree of reliance

liance is to be given to any plan of government.

For my part, when firſt the aſſurance of a change of adminiſtration was received, I felt the pleaſure which every thinking and unbiaſſed man muſt feel; for I thought that a Miniſtry inexperienced, factious, and whoſe abilities and intentions were eſteemed ſlight and evil, were to give place to a more extenſive and capable ſyſtem. Glutted as men were with changes even to ſatiety, which had wearied out their love of novelty; and the quick ſucceſſion of which, had given to every thing the appearance of deluſion; there was a general hope expreſſed, that at length we ſhould ſee all the abilities, integrity and experience of this country called around the throne, and engaged in the ſervice of their country; that for this purpoſe, all party diſtinctions were to be aboliſhed, all reſentments ſacrificed, all proſcriptions removed, and the efforts of all the King's ſubjects united, at a juncture, when all their efforts are no more than neceſſary; and when dangers hang over this country, which thoſe who know the moſt of her ſituation, fear the moſt.

The affectation which there was in the diſappointed men of all parties, to turn the eyes of the public, and their wiſhes, towards Mr. PITT, was not, I own, a good preparation

preparation for a ſcheme of comprehenſion; and the ſubmiſſions that had been made to him by the Miniſtry, and the ſteps of condeſcenſion towards him from a greater perſon, tended ſtill more to increaſe his confidence in himſelf. It was however ſtill to be hoped, that the reſolution which, it was ſaid, the —— had taken of not admitting Mr. PITT, except upon a plan of government firſt explained to him, that his own declarations in parliament of the neceſſity of giving vigour, experience and ability to the public offices, and confidence and permanency to government, by an *union* of all parties in one comprehenſive ſyſtem, and that his conjunction with a Noble Lord, whoſe ſentiments of moderation, coalition and public ſpirit, on this ſubject were well known; that all theſe motives united, the regards he owed to himſelf, his Brother, the Public, and the Crown, would have conquered the little paſſions of *Envy*, *Jealouſy* or *Reſentment*, and enabled him to fulfil the intentions of the King, and the wiſhes of the kingdom.

It was certainly with this view that he was ſent for from Somerſetſhire, and Lord TEMPLE from Stowe. It was Mr. PITT's province to ſtate to that Nobleman a plan of policy; which, in fact, was, that Lord TEMPLE ſhould ſtand a Capital Cypher in the moſt reſponſible ſituation in the kingdom,

dom, ſurrounded with perſons who were intended to be equally Cyphers; and the whole to be under the abſolute dominion and nomination of Mr. PITT, who was to hold the office of Lord Privy Seal, and conſequently to take upon himſelf *no* ſhare of *reſponſibility*, or of *trouble*, but in the degree in which he choſe it. Every, the moſt remote, Dependant of Mr. PITT's was to be brought into place, and indeed all the intended Changes were calculated for that purpoſe: no alteration of meaſures was pretended to be introduced; and as to men, the Change conſiſted only in giving three or four of the principal offices in the kingdom to ſome of the immediate friends of Mr. PITT; who, together with General CONWAY, and the tail of the laſt Adminiſtration, were to compoſe the Miniſtry. This was the conciliating moderate propoſal which Mr. PITT thought proper to make to Lord TEMPLE, and which he could eaſily foreſee that his Lordſhip would never accept. The anſwer of the Noble Lord was ſuch as every way became him; that his wiſh was to *unite* with Mr. PITT, but not to *obey* him; which neither his Situation, Character or Diſpoſition, would ſuffer him to yield to, inconſiſtently with the opinions on public buſineſs, which he had delivered laſt year, and in ſupport of ſome new meaſures, which, conſidering from what quarter they were to

come, it was not likely he ſhould approve. His Lordſhip therefore immediately refuſed to accede to the propoſition, which he thought highly improper to be made to him by one who knew that he would not accept it, and to whom he ſhould never have thought, in the ſame ſituation, of making a like offer. Lord TEMPLE expreſſed an ardent wiſh of union, *General Union*, to give ſtrength, reputation and permanency to government, for which end, he had endeavoured to lay aſide private affections and partialities, and to ſummon to the public ſervice, from every denomination and ſubdiviſion, that weight and ability, which is ſo eſſential to our preſent ſituation; and that he was concerned to find that Mr. PITT had adopted ideas of ſuch little temper and moderation; that as this was the caſe, it was needleſs to talk farther upon principles which he could never admit. Upon Mr. PITT's repeatedly ſaying, "I mean, indeed, as the K—— has put the whole into my hands, to form the Outſet, but we will afterwards go on *pari paſſu*; Pray what is it your Lordſhip wiſhes, what would you have?" Lord T—— after obſerving again, that it was needleſs to enter into particulars, when they differed in ſuch eſſential fundamentals; took notice to Mr. PITT, of the quality of his propoſition, which was no leſs, than to put him in the moſt laborious, difficult, reſponſible ſituation in the kingdom,

kingdom, ſurrounded by a Cabinet, compoſed entirely of men wholly averſe to him, both in diſpoſition and in politicks; while he (Mr. PITT) was to retire to a lucrative *Sine Cure*, with the power of naming to every department of government, and the privilege of anſwering for no one ſtep, which that government was to take. That if Mr. PITT expected him to take ſo reſponſible a ſituation, it was but reaſonable, at leaſt, that he ſhould have one man in the cabinet on whom he might rely, and mentioned Lord LYTTELTON in this view: the only anſwer made to this propoſition, was ſome expreſſion of contempt of that very able and learned Lord; whom the very laſt year Mr. PITT had himſelf propoſed to have placed at the head of the Treaſury. Lord TEMPLE being again preſſed to ſay what he wiſhed, went on to obſerve, that one great objection to the preſent plan, was the idea of proſcription which it adopted; that it was particularly proper, at this time, to remove every imputation of that kind; and that therefore it muſt be for his Majeſty's ſervice, to take into government thoſe, who by their extenſive alliances and connections, as well as by their abilities, were likely to ſecure that unanimity to the public proceedings, which the ſituation of this country ſo evidently required. For this purpoſe, it was his Lordſhip's opinion, without any concert or communi-

cation with the party he was going to name, that Lord GOWER was very eligible upon every account that had been mentioned to be appointed Secretary of State. Mr. PITT would not hearken in the leaſt to this nomination. Here therefore the conference was cloſed, Lord TEMPLE deſiring Mr. PITT to remember, that he had given an inſtance of his moderation in not having ſtated his brother (Mr. GEORGE GRENVILLE) for any office; and that therefore his Lordſhip's refuſal to concur with the preſent ſyſtem, could not now be attributed to perſonal views for his own family.

I have been the more minute in the detail of what paſſed upon this occaſion, that your Lordſhip may yourſelf judge what degree either of credit, or of permanency, is likely to be derived to a government, undertaken in a ſpirit of monopoly, under the guidance and direction of one man, who does not venture however to put himſelf *reſponſibly* at their head; and holding out a language of animoſity and proſcription, at a time when we are almoſt ruined by our party ſubdiviſions. Is this the Eſculapian hand, that is to heal the diſorders of our State? This the promiſed balm to our broken and wounded condition? Notorious as the facts are, which have been mentioned, as having occurred in the late Negotiation, I ſcarcely expect to gain credit for the

the truth of them, with thoſe who happen not to meet with (what however are in many hands) authentic proofs of it *.

In fact, whether you conſider the purpoſe of Mr. PITT, or the means he uſed to execute it, they are both of them of ſuch a nature, that as you need not envy that man his ſentiments who could form and chuſe them, ſo upon reflection, you will have but little inclination to join with him; and little expectation, that he who could acquire power in that manner, can exert it to the public good. Conſider only the means which he uſed to free himſelf from a connexion which has ceaſed to be as neceſſary to him, as it had formerly been; to which he owes ſo much, and in which I remember to have heard him ſay in Parliament, *he would live and die*. Inſtead of acquainting that Lord openly, and without reſerve, that he had changed his purpoſes, and wiſhed to unite to the Party whom he found in poſſeſſion of the Forts of Government; thoſe whom he thought he could be aſſured would continue to be dependent upon himſelf, he endeavoured to throw on him the odium of a Refuſal, by making him a propoſal, which he knew muſt be refuſed. He had lived too long with his Relation, not

* See THE ENQUIRY into the CONDUCT of a LATE RIGHT HONOURABLE COMMONER; which contains many things well worthy the reader's obſervation.

not to know that his ſentiments were ſuitable to his Rank; and that though he would readily have acted in conjunction with him, he never would ſubmit to a ſubſerviency. He knew that his object were meaſures, not men; and that he could not accede to that Miniſtry, from which he had differed ſo widely in the laſt ſeſſion upon points of the utmoſt importance, and from whom he muſt foreſee a ſtrong probability of his continuing to differ. To make therefore in ſuch a ſituation, to ſuch a perſon, ſo unfit a propoſal, merely to endeavour to throw on him the appearance of a refuſal, is not, in my opinion, a greater recommendation of his underſtanding, than of his heart. It is but an awkward piece of policy; which does not require much ſagacity to ſee through. — The circumſtance of Mr. PITT's immediate intercourſe with Mr. CONWAY, as ſoon as he came to town, and concerting with him every arrangement (from that office which reſpected himſelf, down even to the Proviſional Allowances for Meſſrs. T— and O——) does not ſeem to favour the ſincerity of his intentions towards Lord TEMPLE. But to paſs from the means by which he choſe to execute his Plan, to the Plan itſelf.

If great men had not great privileges, if heroes had not, in all times, been confeſſed to be too mighty to be bound by the little

ties

ties of thoſe obligations which confine ordinary minds, the ingratitude of this conduct might be mentioned. It would certainly in any other character not be ranked among his virtues, that he had forſaken a Brother, to whom he is generally thought to be ſo much indebted, for the ſake of *Place* and *Title*; but I readily acknowledge, that, in the preſent caſe, this ſtep is greatly juſtified, when we reflect that it is to unite him to his *Old Friends*, Lord SHELBURNE, and Mr. CONWAY. But this is a private conſideration. The next is of a public kind.

I have not enough of a Political Exciſeman about me, to be able to gauge the veracity of a Stateſman, or to know what will be the nett contents of his aſſertions; but in the common courſe of buſineſs, a man, who had made the declarations which I heard him make on the neceſſity of Temper, Harmony, and an Union of all Parties, who had been ſent for upon the ſtrength of theſe declarations, and whoſe firſt propoſition was in direct contradiction to them, would in the City be called, *not a good man*. He appears to me to be exactly in the ſame form, with the man who gains admittance into your houſe, by his ſpecious promiſes in advertiſements to kill your rats, and who leaves your houſe filled with thoſe rats which he has introduced, in order to ſecure to himſelf conſtant employment. But be it

that

that the end ſanctifies the means; and if the acquiſition of miniſterial power may be conſidered as a conqueſt, to uſe the expreſſion which Tacitus I remember puts into the mouth of that able Partizan CIVILIS, *Victoriæ Rationem non reddi.* Having now the power in his hands, his firſt plan ought to have been, to have executed the power which he did not heſitate to accept, to have taken an office which made him *reſponſible*; to acknowledge that he poſſeſſed the *influence*, which he has uſed ſuch pains to ſecure, and ſuch methods to engroſs; and to ſtand forth as the *Guide* of that Miniſtry, which he had formed.

If this was rendered impoſſible by the uncertain ſtate of his health, his duty to himſelf, to the Public, and to the Crown, required him to decline a power which he could not execute; and to leave thoſe to form the Plans of Government, who muſt be *anſwerable* for the juſtice of them. To take, as he has done, the Honours and the Advantages without the Burthens; and while he directs the Puppets, to ſtand behind the ſcene, and expoſing them to the danger, rejoice in his *Sine Cure*, is a conduct which can proceed but from one motive. It was indeed in his power to have formed a Miniſtry by concert; and it appears, that his noble relation was diſpoſed to have accepted, what is in time of peace, the moſt laborious

borious and moſt reſponſible office in the kingdom, upon a plan of general union. But our Miniſter thought it moſt for his glory and intereſt, that his peculiar dependents ſhould be placed in the firſt offices of the kingdom; and that himſelf, without any hazard, ſhould nominate and direct the whole; while his brother might, if he had choſen it, have undertaken the office of buſineſs, joined with a ſet of men from whom he had publicly differed on points of the greateſt importance, and unſupported by any voice but his own, and that of one Lord, for whom he was with difficulty admitted to procure a ſeat.

To judge of this without prejudice, ſuppoſe for a moment that the two perſons had changed characters. Imagine that Lord TEMPLE, after he had nominated to the two Seals, the Preſidentſhip, and ſtipulated that all his friends, and no others, were to be provided for by removals, ſhould have propoſed to Mr. PITT to accept the office of moſt labour and riſque. If this had been the caſe, what would the Public, what would Mr. PITT have ſaid? They would not have thought the propoſal either delicate, temperate or juſt, or the motives for it either honourable or diſintereſted; and whatever they would have thought, or ſaid in that caſe, they will think and ſay now; for there is not, I preſume, in the elements

 which

which compoſe the name of the late Great Commoner, that power of tranſmutation, which converts every thing done by him into juſt and right;——there is not certainly in my eſtimation. I meaſure men by their actions, and therefore while I think of that gentleman as he deſerves, I own I honour the conduct of his Brother.

It is not poſſible, but that this Nobleman, in the courſe of a long political life, muſt have contracted his Political Friendſhips and Diſlikes; but the moment the forming a Government came in view, he diveſted himſelf of both. He ſaw that to give it ſtrength and reputation, it was neceſſary to bring into the public ſervice, all the ability and experience which was to be found in any party; and to form from thence one maſs of power and weight. He propoſed therefore a plan of general comprehenſion, to give a proof of the total removal of all Party Proſcription, by calling into office a Nobleman, whoſe connections with a reſpectable Duke, as well as the eſteem entertained of him, would unite to them a very formidable ſquadron. This propoſal, to which no perſonal intereſt, nothing but the ſpirit of moderation and public zeal, could give riſe, was rejected at once; and Mr. PITT refuſed to admit one ſingle perſon who had ventured to differ from him; while he propoſed to Lord TEMPLE, to unite himſelf to thoſe who were

all

all known to entertain ſentiments directly contrary to his own. But this Nobleman ſacrificed not his reſentments only, but what muſt have coſt him much more pain, his affections too, for the ſake of Public Union; and tho' he muſt have wiſhed that his Adminiſtration ſhould receive the benefit of his Brother's abilities, though he could from no perſon be aſſured of ſuch effectual and cordial ſupport; yet it is certain, that he did not propoſe him for any office; among other reaſons, it is well known for this, that his refuſal might not be attributed to private motives.

I know not by what ſtrange infatuation it was, that Mr. PITT could prevail upon himſelf to think, that the propoſition offered to his Brother was ſuch as it was fitting for him to make, or likely for Lord TEMPLE to accept. That unhappy concurrence which has been ſeen in men of moſt denominations, to turn the public eye and dependance towards one man, and which followed more from a diſſatisfaction at what was preſent, than from a fixed expectation of a future remedy; has encreaſed the ſelf-confidence and deſpotiſm of that individual; to that degree of intemperance, which was ſo evidently betrayed in the courſe of the late negociation. He had ſo frequently been told, that he alone could ſave this country, that we may the leſs wonder at his imagin-

ing, that he alone ought to direct its measures, to name its officers, to diſpoſe of its revenues; and, in ſhort, to influence *every* department of Government, without being liable to account for *any*. The Public therefore are to thank themſelves for the exertion of that fierce ſpirit, which they have taken ſuch pains to cultivate.

But tho' it is not difficult to trace to their ſource the reaſons of Mr. PITT's conduct, it is by no means eaſy to diſcover the motives of thoſe gentlemen who have liſted under his banner, and who are content to engage with him upon terms ſo very unequal. And this part of my ſubject your Lordſhip will apply to yourſelf, as the grounds of my opinion, why you ſhould not, by accepting an office at this time, rank yourſelf with thoſe, who, for the ſake of mere emolument, are not afraid to pledge their credit and ſafety to the Public, for meaſures which they are not allowed to plan; and from which, as long as they are in office, they muſt not dare to differ. Have they ſo ſoon forgot Mr. PITT's complaint againſt Lord BUTE when he was Groom of the Stole? Have they ſo ſoon forgot the declaration in his Apology to the City of London, "that he would not be reſponſible for meaſures which he was not allowed to *guide?*" Do they mean, to anſwer for thoſe meaſures which they have no ſhare in planning? Are they

they ſo much the Favourites of the Public, as to be able to ſuſtain the odium, the very chance of which he thinks proper to avoid? Mr. PITT, they may be aſſured, will be ſo juſt to himſelf, as to take to his own ſhare all the credit which may be derived from any ſucceſs to the public proceedings; and he will be ſo indulgent to thoſe who hold the official departments of government, as to heap upon them all the diſgrace, which any public miſcarriage may bring along with it. While the veſſel glides in a ſmooth, eaſy current, *he* is the watchful pilot that is conducting her to the Haven: if tempeſts ſhould ariſe, and there is any danger of the Ship's ſinking, his infirmities, alas! will not ſuffer him to ſtand to the helm, and therefore he contents himſelf with going below the deck, and laying the blame on thoſe who ſteer, for not purſuing a ſteady courſe.

After all the declamations with which we have been amuſed for ſome years againſt Favouritiſm, Mr. PITT has now choſen to exhibit himſelf to the public in the very popular character of a Favourite. What were his repeated complaints againſt Lord BUTE; but that his Lordſhip, in an office of no reſponſibility in itſelf, planned every public meaſure, and left thoſe, who filled the government offices, to anſwer for thoſe Counſels which he himſelf had adviſed? What

What is Mr. PITT doing? Nothing leſs than taking a more lucrative office, and equally unreſponſible, directing *every* public meaſure, and naming to *every* government office (which Lord BUTE never did) while he leaves thoſe to anſwer for the ſucceſs of his meaſures, whom he has named to their departments, but with whom he neither can or will concur in taking a ſhare of public blame. If Mr. PITT is as really neceſſary to the ſituation of this country, as his Panegyriſts have taught him to think, it muſt be equally neceſſary, that he ſhould ſtand forth its *avowed* and *open* Miniſter, amenable to its diſpleaſure, as well as a candidate for its applauſe.

But leaving thoſe Gentlemen who chuſe to engage upon ſuch diſadvantageous ground, it becomes your Lordſhip to conſider, whom it is that you are now deſired to join. It is the very Party, in which Mr. PITT declared, the latter end of laſt winter, that he could place no confidence. It is the very Party, whoſe ſolicitations you refuſed in the beginning of this ſpring: though you diſclaimed at that time every private engagement that could influence your conduct, yet you wiſely thought, that ſo fundamental a difference ſubſiſted in your public opinions, that it was unfitting for you to lend your name to that Adminiſtration, whoſe meaſures you diſapproved. Are you more likely

to

to agree with them, as ———, than you were as ———? Have *they* altered their conduct? Or do you mean to give up *your* opinions? What material change is there, as to the Ability and Experience accruing to Government? Is the Duke of GRAFTON older than Lord ROCKINGHAM? Or Lord SHELBURNE more knowing than the Duke of RICHMOND? Or Mr. TOWNSHEND (whom, however, Mr. PITT has not thought well enough of, to call to the Cabinet) ſteadier, and more induſtrious, than Mr. DOWDESWELL? They all mean to hang upon their lucrative poſts, by knees, and hands, and head, till at length they ſhall be forced to let them go; but your Lordſhip, who has not that quality of adheſion to gainful office, will leave them to themſelves; and their ſalaries to be paid them out of the money, which the papers have conſtantly aſſured us, was left by Mr. PITT in the Treaſury; as the entire Fees of his Poſt of Secretary of State. I preſume, upon the ſame unqueſtionable authority, that that diſintereſted Patriot has depoſited, in the ſame Fund, the Penſion of three thouſand pounds per annum, which was granted him five years ago; and the public will be pleaſed to hear, that the profits of the office of Privy Seal, which are full *four thouſand pounds* per annum, are applied in the ſame manner, with the ſums above-mentioned.

Your

Your Lordſhip was not one of thoſe, who, the moment the door was a-jar at St. James's, eagerly thruſt in, in ſpite of every engagement; and though your letter informs me, that you conſider yourſelf as under no private tie, yet to the public who has ſeen you act (ſuch has been the unhappy complexion of our times) in the ſpace of three years with three different Treaſuries, there may ariſe ſome ſuſpicion of obligation; which, whether it exiſts or no, it is upon every account well worth your while to examine. A farther objection may be made to your acceptance at this time, from the little likelihood there is of your permanency in office.

While I am writing, word is brought me, that the following Proviſions have been made to the perſons reſpectively undermentioned.

To the Earl of N——, an addition of 1000 l. per annum, to the 4000 l. per annum already annexed to the office of Preſident of the Council.

To the ſaid Earl of N—— a floating Penſion of 4000 l. per annum during his life, to commence from the time of his quitting the Preſidency of the Council.

To the ſaid Earl of N— the reverſion of the office of clerk of the Hanaper in Chancery

ry upon the death of the Duke of Chandos, for the term of any two Lives which the Earl of N—— ſhall pleaſe to name.

Encouraged by ſo diſintereſted and patriotic an example, the Lord High C——, that pattern to all true Engliſhmen, that unbiaſſed, uninfluenced Patriot, the Lord C——n, has got the Reverſion of the Firſt Tellers place in the Exchequer that ſhall become vacant for his Son; and that there may be no period of his life, in which he ſhall be unadorned with the *ſpontaneous* graces of the Crown, he has condeſcended to accept of a Penſion of 1500 l. per annum upon the Iriſh Eſtabliſhment, in caſe he ſhall quit the Seals before any Tellerſhip ſhall be vacant.

This is the Act of Grace; theſe the Medals that were to be ſcattered about at Mr. Pitt's acceſſion. This Licentiate in State Medicines ſeems to think *Penſions* the only Noſtrum for every Stage of the Public Diſorder.—Let us ſee a little what his Practice has been during his laſt Adminiſtration.

K—— of P—— penſioned.

When he himſelf retired in 1761, a Penſion of 3000 l. per annum for three lives.

Inſtead of a Cabinet office for Lord LITTELTON, in the late Negotiation, Mr. PITT propoſed a Penſion.

In order to buy *out* one C——r, Three Penſions.

In order to buy *in* another C——r, Two Penſions.

For two Lords of the T——, in caſe they had been diſplaced by Lord TEMPLE, Mr. PITT propoſed Penſions.

In ſhort, let the emergency be what it will, this Political Bobadil, if there were twenty more, would not fail to cry out *Penſion them too.*——Is it not rather ſingular that the D. of N——, who has been called a corrupt venal Miniſter, ſhould never have attempted any thing like this, and ſhould have twice refuſed a Penſion offered to himſelf, which doubtleſs might have had the epithet of *ſpontaneous* tacked to it, and that ſo unbiaſſed, ſo uninfluenced, ſo incorrupt a Miniſter, as Mr. PITT ſhould, in his own perſon, and that of his immediate friends, have loaded the eſtabliſhment with Penſions, which would have been ſtiled enormous, even by the Penſioned Parliament of Charles the Second. But is it not rather ſerious too, that amidſt our Public Diſtreſſes, our Party Feuds, our Artificial Scarcity, when this country is labouring, throbbing to the heart,

and

and tottering amidſt a choice of difficulties, the attention of thoſe, who have ever been eſteemed able to ſupport it, ſhould be wholly turned to ſelfiſh gain, and private honour and emolument; that *they* ſhould make choice of this hour of difficulty to bedeck themſelves with titles, and to ſecure lucrative allowances; that *they* ſhould behold the calamities of their country with the barbarous joy of the wild Corniſh, who conſider every gun fired in diſtreſs as a ſignal to them to plunder, who murther inſtead of aſſiſting the wretched Crew, and are only anxious leſt the Wreck ſhould ſink, before they have their ſhare of the Spoil.

But it is needleſs to comment upon what ſpeaks ſo plainly of itſelf. Sufficient arguments will probably ariſe in your Lordſhip's mind, from the nature of this tranſaction, and ſo open a bargain and ſale, being made the ground work of an A——n to induce a ſuſpicion, that ſuch a ſyſtem can neither derive credit to itſelf, or meet with the approbation of the Public, and conſequently that it cannot be laſting. The free and independent part of theſe kingdoms will refuſe it the ſanction of their applauſe, and the ſpirited example which the City of London has lately given in reſiſting the mean intreaties which were made to them, and the attempts to ſurprize them into an addreſs

of congratulation, will doubtleſs be followed by every other Public Body which may now be tampering with. Setting aſide, however for the preſent, thoſe conſiderations which muſt ariſe from the plan itſelf, from the idea of proſcription which it holds out, from the general diſſatisfaction, as well expreſſed by thoſe who make a part of the Government, as by thoſe who are daily deſerting it; conſider a little Mr. PITT's temper. Intractable as he is with his equals, will he be leſs ſo with thoſe, whom whatever he may find it convenient to call them without doors, he treats in his own mind as children, and whom he will ſuffer no longer than they ſhall continue in the moſt implicit ſubſerviency to him.

Will not Mr. PITT find, when his jealouſy of Mr. GRENVILLE is a little abated, that he has forſaken his own Family for the ſake of thoſe, who having left him more than once, and now having left the Duke of NEWCASTLE, it is impoſſible he can ſafely truſt.

Will Mr. TOWNSHEND, with his very ſuperior talents and induſtry, long continue ſubordinate in a very unpleaſing part of Government, and will he be more diſpoſed to do ſo from Mr. PITT's omitting to call him to the Cabinet, notwithſtanding an Expreſs Promiſe.

Will

Will the H. of C—— put itſelf into Mr. PITT's hands, when he is no longer in a ſituation either to awe or to cajole them?

Will the Nobility be conciliated to this new Peer, who has treated the moſt reſpectable of them either with defiance or neglect?

Will the people of this kingdom (whoſe good opinion Mr. PITT has frequently declared to be eſſential to a Miniſter) truſt in him, whom they conſider as having deſerted their cauſe, and ſacrificed their intereſts to his own private emolument; on the contrary, do not the cries and complainings in our ſtreets remind us that their confidence is departed from him?

Upon the whole, has not Mr. PITT fruſtrated his Majeſty's gracious intentions of a coalition? forſaken and betrayed his Brother, thrown himſelf upon men who cannot ſupport *him*, and whom *he* cannot truſt? for the ſake of a Peerage, which has annihilated him in the Public Eſtimation, and of a Place which he might have taken with more reputation and more probability of permanency upon a broader plan?

Your Lordſhip will give theſe reaſons the weight they ſhall deſerve, and if they affect you, as I own they have done me, you will not, by a premature acceptance of an office, upon the preſent indigeſted narrow proſcriptive

ſcriptive and unpopular plan, preclude yourſelf from making a part of an Adminiſtration, which I doubt not will ſoon be formed upon an extenſive conciliating bottom.

Depend upon it, men will in general revolt at an idea of ſo much haughtineſs and defiance as prevails at preſent, and will unite at leaſt when awakened to it by a ſenſe of Public Danger, in order to ſecure to this country National Reſpect abroad, and to themſelves Private Eaſe and Happineſs at home.

FINIS.

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